

the same breath they stop the agriculture appropriations bill and say: Hey, farm family, on our Patients' Bill of Rights, because we are about to increase your medical costs by an average of \$316 a year, that is money you don't have, but we will force you to do it anyway. Your premiums will go up by the nature of the bill we want to fashion.

Some have stated this bill will cause over 2 million Americans to lose their health care insurance. This chart demonstrates a problem that all Members are sensitive to but a problem that we don't want to cause to be worse.

A phrase that has been used on this floor in a variety of debates in the last couple of months is "unintended consequences." If we pass the Kennedy health care Patients' Bill of Rights, there is a known consequence. You can't call it "unintended."

By conservative estimates it would add one million uninsured Americans to the health rolls. That is the conservative estimate. I said 2 million a moment ago. That is the liberal estimate. It is somewhere in that arena. The other side knows that America's farmers and farm families will have to pay \$300 to \$400 more per year in health care premiums because they are self-insured.

That is the nexus with the farm bill and the agriculture appropriations bill in its strange and relatively obscure way. But it is real. I hope our leaders can be successful in shaping the debate around the Patients' Bill of Rights that says we will have that debate, here is the time line, and here are the amendments that can be offered.

It is going to be up or down. We will all have our chance to make our points, but let's not play the very dangerous game of tacking it onto any bill that comes along that stops us from moving the appropriation bills in a timely fashion. We will debate in a thorough nature why their legislation creates a potential pool of between 1 to 2 million Americans who will become uninsured because of an increase in premiums.

On the other side of the equation is the Patients' Bill of Rights crafted by the Republican majority in the Senate. We go right to farm families. We say to farm families, we are going to give you a positive option in your self-insurance, and that is, of course, to create a medical savings account.

In States made up of individual farms—Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa—already the meager efforts in creating medical savings accounts we have offered in past law have rapidly increased the coverage for health care at the farm level.

So if we want to create a true nexus between an agriculture bill and a Patient's Bill of Rights, it is the Republican version that says let's expand medical savings accounts, let's give small businesspeople, farmers, ranchers, the option of being able to self-insure in a way that will cost them less

money and have insurance to deal with, of course, the catastrophic concerns in health care that we would want to talk about.

The reason I have always been a supporter of medical savings accounts is that it really fits the profile of my State. Farmers, ranchers, loggers, miners—small businesspeople make up a dominant proportion of the population of my State. Increasingly, many of them would become uninsured if the Democratic version, the Kennedy bill, were to pass this Congress and become law. The unintended, or maybe the intended, consequence would be to push these people out of private health care insurance and therefore have them come to their Government begging for some kind of health care insurance.

Why should we set up an environment in which we force people to come to the Government for their health care instead of creating an environment, a positive environment, that says we will reward you for insuring yourself by creating for you the tools of self-insurance and therefore create also a tax environment we want, where today health care premiums for the self-employed are fully deductible, as they are for big businesses which offer health care plans to their employees.

There is a strange, unique, and somewhat curious nexus between Democrats blocking an agriculture appropriations bill coming to the floor and the politics of the Kennedy bill on health care. It is that they would cause even greater problems in the farm community by raising the premiums, by forcing certain costs to go into health care coverage today. Our Patients' Bill of Rights would go in a totally opposite direction, creating an environment in which people could become more self-insured at less money, at a time in American agriculture when it is estimated the average income of the American farmer, having dropped 15 percent last year, could drop as much as 25 to 30 percent this year, with commodity prices at near Depression-era levels.

We need to pass the agriculture appropriations bill. We will then work with the Department of Agriculture and the Clinton administration to examine the needs, as harvest goes forward, to assure we do address the American farmers' plight, as we did effectively last year. But it should be done in the context of agriculture appropriations and a potential supplemental, if necessary, to deal with that. It does not fit, nor should it be associated with, a Patients' Bill of Rights.

I hope the end result today is to clear the track, provide a designated period of time for us to debate the Kennedy bill and a true Patients' Bill of Rights, as has been offered by the Republican majority here in the Senate, and then to allow us to move later today, this evening, and on tomorrow, to finish the agriculture appropriations bill and get on with the debate on that critical issue.

American agriculture is watching. I hope they write my colleagues on the

other side of the aisle and say: Cut the politics. Get on with the business of good farm policy. Do not use us as your lever.

I hope that message is getting through to my colleagues on the other side. Let us deal with agriculture in the appropriate fashion.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SESSIONS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, our leaders are still in negotiation as to terms and conditions under which the Senate will deal with the Patients' Bill of Rights. With that understanding, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 4:30 p.m. under the conditions of the previous extension.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the Chair. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 5 o'clock and that the time be equally divided.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Howard Kushlan, an intern in my office, be allowed to be on the floor for the duration of the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

PATIENTS' BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I join what I suspect are one or two Democratic colleagues of mine who have come out to the floor to speak